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NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND DISARMAMENT

By Leo MATES

SINCE Hiroshima and Nagasaki much water has flown under the bridges, or perhaps one should say, much radioactive fallout has dropped on every continent.

During the intervening years the United Nations have held fruitless discussions, at one assembly after another, on the question of nuclear disarmament. At first this was treated as a separate problem, and then, after a series of barren years, the two existent commissions were merged, until it finally transpired that the matter of nuclear weapons should be treated neither as a new, supplementary aspect of disarmament nor as a component part of the whole problem, but that it constituted the very essence of the disarmament problem. In so far as this last conclusion appears somewhat vague in the official documents and statements, the fact only reflects the whole delicacy and fateful importance of nuclear weapons in all aspects and problems of war and warfare in general, but does not detract from the value of this conclusion.

Actually, the comprehensive and deep influence of the phenomenon and existence of nuclear weapons has had an indelible effect also on peacetime inter-

national relations, and on all political movement in the world from the war onwards. It is very likely — and to be hoped for — that we shall never have the opportunity of assessing in practice the effect of nuclear weapons on the conduct of war. All the efforts and discussions in connection with disarmament — no matter how infinitesimal their results and how slow the steps for a solution may seem — possess historical importance, in the first place because they contribute to the averting and, ipso facto, to the minimizing of the danger of war.

In discussing disarmament today, obviously there is no sense in regarding any reduction of armed forces or of armaments as a substantial success in that direction. Such steps are creative of a better atmosphere in international relations, but are insignificant in the minimizing of the disastrous consequences of an eventual conflict. The efficiency of armaments is growing at such a quick rate that only total elimination of nuclear weapons would mean an essential change in that field. And of course, nuclear armaments could be backed up by any mass-destruction device that exists or will be invented — as the biological mass-destruction devices for example — though so

far nuclear weapons seem to be the only generally known and tested method.

If we regard disarmament as a separate problem, which it is not in practice, being as it is an indissoluble part of the general reality of the world today, then the whole problem narrows down to nuclear weapons. It is unthinkable that the interested powers should renounce nuclear weapons without solving at the same time all questions of conventional armament too. Actually, renunciation of nuclear weapons will mark the advent of a new era in the history of mankind, an era in which wars will be ghostly memories from a transcended and overcome past.

However, we have said that disarmament in practice must not be viewed apart from the rest of today's reality. This reality, in turn, introduces into the problem all those difficulties which are still forcing us to regard every step, even the smallest, no matter how ineffective, as a success, one contributive to a change of today's reality and to the approach of the moment when disarmament will really come to pass.

In the first place one should face the fact that mankind has learned to make nuclear weapons and all their accessories, such as long-range rockets for example. This knowledge will remain with us for all time. Not only is it impossible to wipe out this capacity, but it is not even desirable, for it would mean renouncing and abolishing physics and all the rest of the natural sciences. By contrast, the only possible way out is to change the relations between people and nations, and not to imagine or invent, besides the existing relations, some international instrument which would eliminate nuclear weapons.

What would a formal elimination of nuclear weapons lead to, given the existence of present international relations? It is not difficult to assume that each side would suppose that the other side had still managed to conceal and conserve a lethal quantity of concentrated and extremely efficacious means of destruction, all the agreed controls and inspections notwithstanding. Also, it is not difficult to imagine the consequences which would be drawn from such reasoning, and how effective an agreement could be. Of course, it is more accurate and more realistic to approach the matter from another angle. The existence of deep mistrust and contradictions between the great powers is the gravest obstacle to agreement on total disarmament.

Therefore, the first steps toward disarmament have to be within the limits of acceptability for the powers concerned, although perhaps not immediately acceptable. Such steps or phases, even though they do not disarm these powers, will eliminate the basic destructive potential of their armed forces, will assist a gradual transformation of international relations and enable thereby a factual state of disarmament in the future. "State of disarmament" is an awkward expression, yet perhaps it is more to the point than the ordinary word "disarmament," for the final phase of disarmament presupposes a condition in which no need, or practically no need, will be felt for devices for the destruction of other peoples.

Among such steps are unquestionably the prohibition of nuclear test explosions, and a ban on the production of fissionable material for war purposes. The essence of the difficulties surrounding such initial steps lies neither in the problem of control nor in all those considerations that handicap factual disarmament. As has been revealed by past discussions, the question of control could be solved, while the destructive potential (i. e. the essence of armament) would remain intact. Experiments, even underground ones and with small bombs, as well as the production of fissionable material, are necessary to those who cannot renounce war as an instrument in international relations.

Unfortunately, the disastrous consequences and, accordingly, the aimlessness of nuclear war have not produced the same reaction everywhere. A considerable number of books, have been written, treatises and papers about the so-called limited war, or the limited use of nuclear weapons in war. However, even without that, and apart from such theories of war, one must not shut one's eyes to the fact that the greatest and the most real danger threatening mankind today is not a war which would start (as we read in novels or see on the filme) through a sudden, possibly accidental, hail of thermonuclear bombs and rockets. Far more real is the danger from some lesser conflict with local use of "little" bombs and rockets as tactical weapons on the battlefield, or against limited military objectives in the rear. In the final analysis, this narrows down to an attempt to put back the clock of history, to reintroduce war as a regular practice in international relations. While it is true that such a war would be more destructive than any previous one, it would still be a war at whose conclusion the victor and the vanquished could be distinguished, just like in "good old pre-nuclear times." It would be a "limited" war which might take a toll of "only" a hundred or several hundred million human lives, possibly those of the enemy.

Without going into the probable continuation and evolution of such a "limited" war, let us dwell on the means needed to wage it. In the first place, the effects of radiation must be limited in space and time. This calls for a perfecting of nuclear weapons (the so-called pure bombs), and also for the construction of extra-small bombs and warheads for rockets. Besides these familiar trends there are probably also other lines of research, all with the idea of avoiding in the conduct of war the obviously "excessive" effect of today's fundamental types of nuclear weapons.

Efforts in this direction not only make it difficult to reach agreement concerning tests and the prohibition of production, but at the same time indicate that the aimlessness itself of total nuclear war does not automatically and wholly eliminate the danger of war. Of course, this only underlines even more the need and usefulness of every effort for the preservation of peace, including efforts in the domain of disarmament, regardless of whether their results are sufficient to render a new war impossible technically. This brings out particularly the extraordinary importance of reaching agreement regarding tests and the production of fissionable material for war purposes.

All pressure which is brought to bear on the conferences dealing with this issue therefore assumes a double significance.

On the other hand, the difficulties surrounding these and other preliminary steps are not unbridgable, for they do not affect the fundamental potential of the great powers, and should definitely be regarded as being within the limits of acceptability. Besides this, the feasibility of such agreements and the obvious peacetime danger from radiation facilitate the rallying of hundreds of millions of people, and of the whole of world opinion. Partial success has in fact already been achieved in this field — the unilateral renunciation of tests by the three nuclear powers — which not even the reckless French test in the Sahara has nullified so far. Actually, the announced continuation of French tests in the light of all this cannot but be qualified as an extremely egocentric and perilous sabotaging of the efforts to create preconditions for disarmament.

In all discussions concerning disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, the question of control crops up more frequently as one of the worst handicaps. This is not an easy issue, but it is equally obvious that control is necessary. However, from certain sides the question of control is being given a disproportionate degree of importance.

It is not a question of cases where the matter of control has long since ceased to present a really difficult problem or a factual abstacle, as on the subject of tests for example. Further, let us discount the limitation of conventional armaments, where control presents no problem at all. Thus, for example, is there anyone in his right mind who doubts today that the Soviet Union has really cut its armed forces, or the stated extent of the armed forces of U. S. A. or of Great Britain? It is a question of the control of effective disarmament — nuclear disarmament.

The paradox of control, if we consider it first in the discussion on disarmament, is that it is given pride of place on account of the existence of deep mistrust, although it is obvious that lack of mutual confidence is the chief reason for the rejection of too-extensive controls. In other words, control should make up for lack of confidence, while in reality it only promotes and intensifies this lack. It is, then, not to be wondered at that the discussions on control follow a vicious circle, and that by now we have had so many variants of the proposals for disarmament by stages and for control.

It is hard to believe that past failures should be put down to the lack of a mutually acceptable formula of control. The logic of past discussions indicates that any formula which would be accepted by the other side would be regarded with suspicion ipso facto. In short, control cannot be a substitute for confidence, it can only be a technical service organized, on the basis of mutual confidence, for the elimination of misunderstandings which are of such a nature that both sides are willing and prepared a priori to eliminate them as they arise.

As long as the great powers regard their nuclear military potential as a vital issue of their survival (in which, of course, it is irrelevant whether their survival is really threatened) it will be impossible

to expect control from without to compel them to renounce it. Here the same logic should be applied as that applied in drawing up the United Nations Charter. There, binding decisions were provided only for the Security Council, with the agreement of the great powers. The Charter makes no provision at all for disputes between the great powers. In case of conflict between them there can be no agreement, nor, by that token, binding decisions, and this no doubt also holds good for disarmament agreements.

The meaning of this logic is that the United Nations can function only subject to co-operation between the great powers. The authors of the Charter realized that there was no substitute, nor could there be, for confidence and co-operation, and practical experience has demonstrated that the United Nations have withstood the worst years of the cold war and all the conflicts from past years and that they have — sometimes modestly and slowly but none the less always — played an important role in easing tensions. Insofar as the authors of the Charter relied on the moral force of public opinion rather than on clauses, practical experience has proved them right.

A further aspect of the above paradox is that, actually, it is easiest to establish control of total disarmament, of total abolition of war weapons and of all military establishments. The basic defect of all plans for a gradual limitation and dismantling of the nuclear potential is that control of such a process most largely induces the opposite effect, promoting suspicion rather than a sense of security.

Strange as this may sound, the most realistic of all the proposals is for the total abolition of all kinds of weapons and military establishments. The reserve shown towards such a proposal is not because of its shortcomings, but because of the existing state of international relations. It is realistic because actually it is far easier to transform international relations by degrees, thereby enabling its implementation, than to find a formula which would avoid already mentioned contradictions.

In reality, all the plans for nuclear disarmament announced so far give the nuclear powers, more or less up to the ultimate phase, the right to conserve



**XXVIITH INTERNATIONAL
AGRICULTURAL FAIR
IN NOVI SAD YUGOSLAVIA**

their basic nuclear potential. Most of the extensive controls which are usually proposed in the interval have the character of intelligence activity between adversaries who assume that, in view of their political relations and of their nuclear potential, total war is still possible between them.

Discussions on control, however have not been entirely fruitless, although unfortunately, they are constantly productive of a negative result, viz., intensification of mistrust. This is considerably increased by the fact that such debates are still marked by overtones of the familiar efforts to shift the responsibility for the stalemate to the other side.

Insistence on 100% control in the preliminary phases is all the more unwarranted in view of the fact that, in any case, real disarmament, viz., destruction of nuclear weapons, cannot primarily be based on control or on any police measures and guarantees. Such illusions — if they are really illusions — seem to be founded on an idea that the world can be changed while at the same time remaining unchanged. Renunciation of nuclear weapons in the presence of the capability and the knowledge needed to produce them, plus the previous possession of such weapons

in unknown quantities, presupposes organs far superior to those which merely control.

Whether we like it or not, the world will have to live for a long time in the presence of the existence of the nuclear potential, viz., in a state in which total or near-total destruction is possible. In the mean time, the main efforts in the disarmament field can be turned most beneficially to thwarting tendencies toward a "limited nuclear war."

In international relations, this narrows down to reaching agreement primarily on the prohibition of test explosions and of production of fissionable material for war purposes: next, to creating better conditions for international co-operation and the implementation of a true and active co-existence, parallel with preliminary steps toward nuclear disarmament; in one word, concentration on closer, if more modest, goals will do more to bring the moment nearer when mankind will be freed from the nightmarish stranglehold of nuclear armaments than will all the eloquent assurances that nuclear weapons still exist merely because agreement has not been reached on disarmament programmes and the relevant control.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF YUGOSLAVIA

Economic Relations Between Yugoslavia and the Asian Countries

By Nikola MINČEV

State Secretary for Finance and Member of the
Federal Executive Council

IN RECENT YEARS the growing inclusion of under-developed countries in international economic relations and, concurrently, the solution of the problem of their quicker economic development, have been matters of great significance.

In this respect the countries of Asia occupy a leading place. Their many millions are still living in the state of economic backwardness which is the heritage of their colonial past. When they became independent the majority of these countries were confronted with grave problems and enormous difficulties. Their common feature is that they all are aspiring to rapid economic development, and in many of the encouraging initial results have already been achieved. Today they already constitute an important factor in international economic relations, and there is no doubt that their status will grow in the future.

From the point of view of economic exchange and co-operation, the countries of Asia have a special

significance for Yugoslavia. Determined to promote comprehensive co-operation with all countries on the basis of mutual respect and equality, Yugoslavia is making special efforts to develop such co-operation, as a means of by-passing the bloc divisions and as a prerequisite for the development of productive forces and the improvement of living conditions, which is the urgent need of all countries.

The dynamic development of the economy of Yugoslavia, especially in the field of industrialization, has completely changed her position in relation to these countries. The fact that Yugoslav foreign trade has doubled during the last five years is suggestive enough of the country's task to make the maximum efforts — while continuing to supply her traditional markets — to expand her foreign trade and economic co-operation.

Yugoslavia can also find on that market a number of products for which she has an increasing need, owing to her economic development. At the same

time she is able to supply products which are indispensable to these countries. Yugoslav trade with the Asian countries in 1959 was 60 per cent more than in 1958, the imports being up 50 per cent and the exports 66 per cent. As a result, the participation of these countries in her total foreign trade rose from 5 per cent in 1958 to 7.7 per cent in 1959.

The latter figure, however, reveals that, given the economic potentialities both of these countries and Yugoslavia, their participation in the latter's foreign trade is still very modest.

Yugoslav exports are mainly manufactured goods, though industrial equipment takes first place, for she has supplied power stations, ships, transport equipment, machine tools to a whole range of countries. The increasing engagement of Yugoslav enterprises in the carrying out of various capital projects in a number of Asian countries, testifies both to the solidity of their work and the extensive opportunities for co-operation in that domain between Yugoslavia and these countries.

Yugoslav imports from these countries, even though the shipments have mainly consisted of raw materials, tend to be extended to those products which the young industry of the Asian countries is already turning out for export.

Nevertheless, the economic development both of Yugoslavia and the Asian countries has made it urgent to find other forms of co-operation as well.

First of all, a majority of Asian countries find themselves in the initial phase of industrialization, when their needs for imported industrial equipment are rapidly growing, whereas they themselves are unable to produce such equipment, or cannot produce enough of it. Besides this speeding-up economic development in these countries calls for additional foreign means.

Yugoslavia herself has already reached the point in her industrial development where she is able to manufacture various kinds of industrial equipment. This is best illustrated by the export statistics of recent years. For example, this country's exports of machinery reached a value of 4,500 million dinars in 1956, 14,100 millions in 1958, and a full 25,000 millions in 1959. Now, in an effort to find its place in the international division of labour, the Yugoslav machine building industry — compelled to specialize in order to keep abreast of other countries in productivity — has to look for markets outside Yugoslavia. Otherwise it could neither specialize nor operate profitably enough to safeguard its normal development.

It is the rule today to export industrial equipment mainly on the basis of credit arrangements. It follows that in the promotion of economic exchanges and co-operation with certain countries, practice has enjoined new organizational forms which, owing to the structure and volume of trade, did not appear before. In order to lay the foundations for long-term economic co-operation and an expansion of mutual relations, for improved placing of Yugoslav goods, primarily industrial equipment, credit arrangements were concluded with certain Asian countries. Although Yugoslavia can as yet extend such credit only in a modest way, these arrangements represent

a definite contribution to the economic development of the Asian under-developed countries.

Given the present-day world grouping, it is becoming increasingly indispensable to regulate economic relations and co-operation on a long-term basis. This is made imperative by the movements in world economy during recent years. The countries of Asia, particularly, have felt the effects of the absence of long-term economic co-operation especially as affecting the prices of their basic raw materials for export, on the one hand, and the inadequate price movements of industrial equipment, on the other.

Yugoslavia is deeply interested in long-term economic co-operation, for this provides the conditions for its rapid economic development and the fulfilment of its economic plans.

In this matter, I believe, the interests and needs of the countries of Asia — notably those tending to adopt a planned economy — are basically identical with ours. Hence, our efforts to promote long-term economic co-operation are, in fact, meeting with a growing understanding among them.

The consistent extra-bloc policy, the policy of active co-existence of Yugoslavia, which has been tested in practice, is only additionally contributive to the fact that the countries of Asia which are seeking to develop economically may always count on honourable and equitable relations, as well as on stable economic co-operation, with this country. Long-term economic co-operation can be realized in various forms. Some of these already exist today, and life is bound to create a whole series of fresh forms to meet new conditions and requirements.

Long-term arrangements for economic exchange should be one of the fundamental forms of this co-operation. For it is certainly desirable to ensure not only the placing of the traditional export pro-

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ducts for a longer period of time, but to provide in advance for an exchange of the new products internationally demanded as a result of economic development. Such a proceeding would facilitate the placing of new products, whose marketing always presents difficulties at the beginning.

Reference has already been made to credit arrangements and the execution of capital projects. This is already a routine form of co-operation, but today it is indispensable for every country which has reached a particular level of industrialization.

One sphere in which long-term co-operation is highly useful is the scientific-technical. Yugoslavia's experiences of rapid development, and the fact that, the under-developed countries have to make a similar start, means that a great deal can be gained through mutual discussion. This has been borne out by the past. Yugoslav specialists who

are active in the countries of Asia have gained respect and esteem by their work, and there are increasing demands for such specialists.

Co-operation in industry similarly constitutes a promising form of economic co-operation for the purposes of quicker and more profitable production, and aids international economic co-operation.

Unquestionably there are great opportunities and prospects for economic co-operation between the countries of Asia and Yugoslavia. What has to be done today is to assess and perceive the need of such co-operation and create conditions for its smooth development, which is to their mutual interest. And we are on the right road, for the results recorded to date, even though they are in the initial phase, warrant confidence in future development. It is to be expected therefore that the trends and movements which were manifested in 1959 will continue in the coming years.

Cultural Cooperation with Middle - Eastern and African Countries

By Krste CRVENKOVSKI

Member of the Federal Executive Council and Secretary
for Culture and Education

POLITICAL and economic relations between Yugoslavia and the countries of the Middle and Near East, North and East Africa have led to the rapid development of relations in the fields of education, science and culture, particularly evidenced in the years 1959 and 1960. Many of the countries with which our country is co-operating have only begun to enjoy their independence. Political independence and State sovereignty however, could not be immediately followed by the liquidation of the backwardness which was the result of the exploitation of the colonial powers, which had controlled the most important resources there for many decades. Practically all the countries in the Middle East and Africa which have gained their independence since the Second World War have to battle against enormous difficulties, in the first place in the training of personnel. Except for U.A.R. (Egypt and Syria) which has a developed network of universities and a large number of students, all such countries have inherited only small, undeveloped universities and high schools. Many of these countries still have an extremely restricted network of primary and secondary schools, which makes the problem of personnel even more difficult. None the less they are countries with old traditions and highly developed local cultures and civilizations. On their territories culture and the arts were flourishing two-thousand and more years ago, reaching the highest peak in their time and providing even a source of inspiration for the refined

antique, Hellenic and Roman, civilizations and especially their arts.

Our relations in the sphere of education, science and culture are being promoted on the basis of conventions and annual plans, as well as by the exchange of various groups, individuals and ensembles with the countries with which no agreements have been signed yet. During the last two years Yugoslavia has signed cultural conventions with Egypt, Sudan and Iraq, while relations with Ethiopia, despite the non-existence of a formal treaty, have made remarkable progress. This is especially thanks to efforts to meet Ethiopian demands that Yugoslav specialist should be sent out there. Yugoslavia has established good relations with U.A.R., which is due to the very friendly political relations between the two republics, and to the fact that U.A.R. is the most developed state in that area.

During the past year delegations, led by the Ministers of Education, were exchanged between Yugoslavia and Egypt and Sudan. An Iraqi cultural delegation paid a visit to Yugoslavia, and a Yugoslav cultural delegation will soon return the visit. The development of relations in the province of education, science and culture was specially emphasized in the communiqué on the conversations between President Nasser and President Tito, as well as in that on the meeting between President Aboud and President Tito, during President Tito's visit last year to a number of friendly countries of Asia and Africa.

The promotion of cultural relations with these countries has taken many forms, from the visits of various delegations and scholarship grants to students, to co-operation in the field of nuclear energy (Egypt—Yugoslavia). Special mentions should be made of guest tours by individuals and musical and other groups.

Our universities have granted scholarships to many students from U.A.R., Iraq, Jordan, Iran, Morocco, Tunisia and other countries, while opportunities have been provided at various faculties for students from that area who wish to study at their own expense. A number of such students are already studying in Yugoslavia. Students from this country (some twenty of them) are taking post-graduate courses in Arabic and Archaeology at the Universities of Cairo and Baghdad. This year the Government of Sudan has offered two scholarship grants for our students to study Arabic at the University of Khartoum. Last year a large group of students of the Advanced School of Agriculture in Mini spent two years on practical work in Yugoslavia. This year 150 students of agricultural schools and teachers of technical schools will come to do their annual practical work on Yugoslav agricultural farms and in industrial enterprises. Fifty places have been opened for post-graduate studies at our universities for students from U.A.R. who come here at their own expense or on scholarships from their Government.

Mutual acquaintance, notably that which leads to close relations, cannot yield durable results unless a country has a particular number of people who are well versed in the language, culture, way of life, customs and circumstances of the other nation. In this context linguistic proficiency is of special importance. Arabic has for many years been one of the subjects at our universities in Belgrade, Sarajevo and Skoplje. There is also a special Oriental Institute, in Sarajevo. Formerly interest in the study of Arabic was of rather a different nature than today; it was more one-sided and restricted. This interest originated from the need to decipher all the documents written in Arabic which were connected with our past under the Ottoman Empire. It was studied as a "dead language" — as the language of documents. That language, however, is actually spoken by some 80 million people who have freed themselves from bondage. Now lectures from U.A.R. are appointed to our Chairs while our Orientalists attend their universities to study the spoken Arabic language. At the same time a Chair of the Serbo-Croatian Language was opened at the High School of Languages in Cairo, while the schools of higher education in U.A.R. from which students come for annual practical work to Yugoslavia, Serbo-Croatian is taught with

the aid of lecturers from Yugoslavia. This has led to a closer acquaintance with both literatures, so that some works of Yugoslav authors are already being translated into Arabic, while those of Egyptian writers are rendered in Serbo—Croat.

Yugoslavia too, has provided a certain number of teachers for the University of Khartoum and Baghdad, as well as for the newly, opened High School of Music in Cairo.

Last year visits were exchanged by delegations of writers between Yugoslavia and U.A.R. and of University professors (our delegation visited the Sudan), as well as by educational delegations which familiarized themselves with the school system in the other country. Provision has been made for one-month and two-month visits by University professors who will lecture at the universities of the other country.

Film, museum, stage experts and others have been sent from Yugoslavia to Syria for a year to help with the establishment of corresponding institutions there.

During the summer vacation exchanges of students are made; while on holiday the students also attend seminars to learn Arabic and Serbo-Croat respectively.

The past period has also been one of considerable activity in the fields of art and entertainment. Exhibitions of painting were opened, guest performances were given by soloists and conductors, as well as by groups and ensembles. All this, however, may be looked upon as only the beginning of the development of such relations.

All these relations in the fields of education, science and art are constantly progressing, as are the political and cultural relations with these countries. Mutual acquaintance makes for greater appreciation of the accomplishments and qualities of other nations. This is one of the sound ways to preserve peace between peoples and promote competition for further progress and to ensure that those peoples who were, until yesterday oppressed and backward, may have opportunity of rallying their creative forces and taking the road to modern civilization.

Our Current Account

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United Nations and Present Problems

By Adnan PACHACHI

Head of Permanent Mission of Iraq to the United Nations

In view of the great significance of the United Nations for international peace and the promotion of cooperation among nations, the Review of International Affairs sent the following questions to heads of permanent missions to the United Nations:

1. *In the post-war world, traversed by bloc barriers the United Nations has, indisputably, been carrying out useful mission. How do you appraise the efforts made hitherto by the United Nations for the maintenance of peace in the world, and in the sphere of international cooperation?*

2. *What, in your opinion, is the role of the nonbloc countries in work of the United Nations?*

3. *At this moment, how would you describe the basic international problems in whose solution the United Nations might play a significant part?*

In this number we publish the answers given by Adnan Pachachi, head of Permanent Mission of Iraq to the United Nations.

THE UNITED NATIONS has dealt with many problems affecting international peace and security. Some of these problems, such as disarmament and the peaceful use of outer space, are of an universal character affecting the entire world. Others have a narrower scope and usually involve disputes between two or more states.

The United Nations has not been entirely successful in the matter of disarmament. Efforts in this direction have often been frustrated because of the rivalry and suspicion generated by the cold war.

On the problems of outer space, a modest beginning has been made, but it is too early to evaluate the work of the UN in this vast field about which relatively very little is known. As far as disputes between states are concerned, the success or failure of the United Nations has depended on the circumstances prevailing at the time and the character of the dispute itself. An example of the successful handling by the United Nations of a dangerous situation was the stand taken by the General Assembly vis-a-vis the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression on Egypt in the autumn of 1956.

In the field of international economic and social cooperation, the United Nations has been playing an important and steadily expanding role. But perhaps the greatest achievement of the UN was its part in accelerating the process of self-government

and independence in Africa and elsewhere. Through the international Trusteeship system the United Nations has guided many countries towards nationhood. Three former Trust territories will be admitted to the United Nations as fully fledged sovereign states during 1960 and several more will attain independence in the next few years.

THE UNCOMMITTED countries can and do play an important role in the United Nations. Their neutral position enables them to act as mediators between the two camps and they are constantly trying to bridge the gap separating East and West. These countries are opposed to the systems of power blocs and military alliances. They have put their faith and trust in the United Nations as the most effective instrument for peaceful international cooperation. For this reason they are usually the most enthusiastic supporters of the United Nations programs for economic and technical assistance to under developed countries and they take a most liberal and enlightened attitude on colonial problems. On the other hand they refuse to be drawn into the disputes of the war that come before the United Nations from time to time.

The refusal of these uncommitted countries to become embroiled in such disputes has kept our organization from being entangled in the cold war and preserved the true international character of the United Nations.

THE UNITED Nations can contribute to the solution of many currently crucial international problems, the most important of which are:

Algeria — The United Nations should recognize the right of the Algerian people to independence and call for immediate and direct negotiations between the French Government and the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic for a cease fire, and for conditions for the application of the right of self-determination which France itself has recognized.

Palestine — By calling for the immediate and unconditional implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly relating to the repatriation and compensation of the Arab refugees, the United Nations can render a great service to the cause of peace and justice.

Disarmament — The United Nations should continue to urge agreement on the cessation of nuclear tests and a workable system of complete and general disarmament.

Fear of Peace

PREMIER Khrushchev's visit to France is not yet over, so it would be premature to predict its immediate or subsequent results and effects, even though it is already obvious that it will leave deep, durable traces both in French — U. S. S. R. relations and in European relationships in general. What already can be said with certainty is that on this important occasion Premier Khrushchev having behind him the whole East-European policy, has concentrated chiefly on the German problem particularly in its present-day form, as shown in the official Bonn policy to organize international resistance to the policy of friendly relations between the East and the West, accompanied by more and more obvious hints of leading the world along lines such as led to the events of 1914 and 1939.

In view of the fact that the atmosphere of the cold war has not cleared yet, and that one still meets everywhere with many prejudices from the recent past, it is hard to say whether, and to what extent, such an Eastern approach to the German problem or, more accurately, the problem of West German policy, will produce a reaction in France. That country, beset by difficulties due to the war of attrition in Algeria, and anxious to gain a fairer recognition of her rights and aspirations from her Anglo-Saxon allies, has directed her contemporary policy towards her neighbour across the Rhine to a far larger extent than in the days of the cold war. Thus a strange coalition has come about, which is used by Bonn — as were the Paris Agreements — as a lever to develop its main policy and to give impetus to the increasingly obvious Greater-German aspirations throughout Europe and beyond. Under such conditions it is difficult to foresee the official French reaction to Soviet suggestions. Nevertheless that does not detract from the importance of this phenomenon in Soviet policy, nor is it possible to ignore the fact that many questions are being asked today, especially throughout Europe, in connection with the latest trends in West German policy, questions unpleasantly reminiscent of the recent past. This is to be attributed far more to Adenauer than to Khrushchev. Indeed in the last weeks Adenauer has missed no opportunity to attract world attention to himself and the pretensions of his policy, as absurd as they are alarming.

The wave of Neo-Nazi excesses early this year, as we all remember, gave rise to extensive misgivings throughout Europe and beyond. When that wave subsided, just as mysteriously as it had appeared, the highest-ranking representatives of the Bonn policy launched a shorter campaign against the improvement in East-West relations. It was made known by Bonn that this improvement was the result of Communist manoeuvres and the gullibility of the West. When the new trend towards negotiations for the peaceful settlement of mutual problems was seen to enjoy widespread support in the world and having firm foundations, to be impervious to counter-declarations, something took place which may be termed the third phase in the evolution of the Bonn policy this year. On the one hand, it led to personal intervention by Adenauer in the U. S. A. and in the West against the policy inaugurated at Camp David, and on the other hand, and concurrently, to a move for the establishment of Bundeswehr bases, depots and military installations in Spain and all other member countries of NATO. According to the designs of the military planners in Bonn, these bases would serve as a jumping off board for the future undertakings of a policy and strategy which is openly placed in the service of the cold war.

It is fairly safe to assert that so far Adenauer has not scored the desired success in his undertakings. He received most edifying answer from British policy and the British public, and during his visit to U. S. A. he had to realise that there must be definite limits to his demands, which he should not try to exceed. The Western approach towards a summit meeting with the East has not changed, while the conversations for the discontinuation of nuclear tests and for disarmament in the

Committee of Ten are, in general, ceeding according to plan. Nevertheless in some Western countries, particularly in the U. S. A., there has appeared a change of mood towards the East, which is contrary to that prevailing at Camp David and directly thereafter. Fluctuations in the Washington outlook on the German and Berlin problem, and the still uncertain attitude to the Soviet concessions at the Conference of Three in Genova — to say nothing of other indications — suggest that Adenauer's efforts have not been entirely fruitless and that, in return for his withdrawal in one direction, he has been rewarded with certain concessions.

Premier Khrushchev's insistence during his French tour on the reality and gravity of Greater-German tendencies in the present Bonn policy may appear to one side or the other as a move calculated to achieve certain effects. On the other hand, it may seem far-fetched to recall today the still recent experiences resulting from the policy of Adenauer's and Bonn's predecessors. For all that, it would be difficult to explain, and even more difficult to justify, the fact that Europe, both Eastern and Western, today is faced with the fact that a country with a tragic past, and which has not yet definitively regulated its basic obligations and its relations with the outside world, is usurping the right to impose, on that continent and the world in general, its policy of continuation of the cold war, which has already proved futile and been discredited, for the more sake of satisfying its unrestrained ambitions, even at the cost of leading to a repetition of past disasters.

The whole paradox of the situation, in which it is suggested that contemporary European and world policy should follow Bonn, becomes evident in the face of the Bonn argument in favour of its own attitude towards political and strategic questions. It would be an error to believe that Bonn's premise is that negotiations with the East should be abandoned because the East is not sufficiently prepared to enter into them, lacking readiness for negotiations on the basis of mutual concessions and compromises. Adenauer realizes and admits that the East is willing to negotiate with the West and meet it halfway, and, indeed, there have been definite signs of this quite recently. However, Adenauer assumes that the East has been driven to this by momentary weakness and temporary unpreparedness to regulate its relations with the West in some other way; that it is not yet prepared for a different, violent, military settlement of international disputes, i. e., for the consummation of its aspirations. The historic admission made by Premier Khrushchev and President Eisenhower at Camp David which brought relief and good will to the whole world — that a war of destruction under modern conditions is the only alternative to the policy of peaceful negotiations, and that, therefore, methods of force and violence should be abandoned for ever in the interests of each and all — is translated by Adenauer into his own language, falsifying its meaning. The only conclusion he has drawn from this and similar admissions (which have not infrequently been accompanied by positive deeds and actions even during the brief period to date), is that the U. S. S. R. needs at least another five or seven years to prepare for military action, timed to take place, that is, when the Seven-Year Plan is fulfilled. Incapable of emancipating himself from militaristic reasoning, he has reached another, even more concrete conclusion: that such a situation in the East is therefore most favourable for bringing it to its knees by pressure and from a position of strength, for forcing it to make the desired concessions — in the first place on the question of Berlin and Eastern Germany, which should simply be annexed to Western Germany. Parallel with this policy towards the East, it is urged at Bonn that extensive and solid preparations should be made for a settlement within the next five to seven years, after which the East supposedly will be capable of taking different action. In this context, Strauss is making efforts to build up a network of bases, placing pads and depots throughout

the Western world, in whose centre Western Germany would, in due course pose not only as the bulwark of the Europe she has twice overrun, but as the initiator of an action for the liberation of the world from the nightmare which is modern mankind.

Dulles's conceptions in the dark days of the cold war, compared with the conceptions of Bonn and Adenauer of today on matters of peace and war in general and East—West relations in particular, seem almost innocuous and could be explained to a certain extent, if not justified, by the degree of bitterness then existing in East—West relations. As distinct from Dulles's conception — which, even in those days of utter uncertainty, was meeting with widespread resistance and rejection — this West German variant of "brinkmanship" saw the light in the atmosphere of the Camp David talks and in the days when the new trend had already asserted itself on the strength of what it already had achieved for the cause of peace to say nothing of the promise, of Premier Khrushchev's current French visit, which has raised the hopes of the whole world or of the present talks of Three and Ten at Geneva, or the pending summit meeting, and so on. Dulles's conception was probably to some extent, a product of the grim cold war

and the result of a certain hysteria, and even fear. The Bonn variant is simply and solely an expression of fear of peace, and the fruit of an inherited desire for adventure which the allies of the Second World War should have put down and eradicated; but they failed to do so, and Europe and the world now are driven, for the third time within recent memory, to take uneasy account of these traditional sources of irresponsibility and threats. It is true that, both in the East and West, conditions and relations have somewhat changed in the interval, and certainly not in favour of fresh adventures. But even in a world whose largest part would be resolutely on the side of peace and in which the chances of fresh adventures would be absolutely hopeless a priori, even in such a world, an irresponsible policy would be apt to provoke a conflagration regardless of the proportions and strength of the protagonist of such a policy. That is how matters stand today, and the present moment is neither unsuitable nor premature for throwing the fullest light on the implications and tendencies of such a policy and for blocking it before it goes beyond the line from which retreat is very difficult, if not impossible.

J. Gj.

Towards Long - Term Economic Cooperation

— Greek-Yugoslav Talks in Athens —

THE DEVELOPMENT of Greek-Yugoslav relations both past and present has few parallels. Since ancient times the two neighbouring countries, whether linked by formal agreements or not, have always stood shoulder to shoulder as allies and, brothers-in-arms. Situated on the crossroads of two worlds and two civilisations, exposed to the same perils, the two nations almost invariably suffered the same blows, so that it is no wonder that the security and independence of one was considered by the other as an indispensable condition of its own security and independence.

The recent history of their mutual relations is based on this long-standing tradition of friendship and reciprocity of vital interests. Cooperation between the two countries is becoming increasingly fruitful from year to year precisely because it reflects those tendencies and aspirations whose course cannot be easily changed or progress checked. It comes of a lasting national policy, which is advancing parallel with the needs of the times and mutual interests.

This was confirmed by the recent visit of Mr Mijalko Todorović, Yugoslav Vice President, to friendly Greece. As usual the meeting of the responsible statesmen of the two countries provided a fresh incentive to mutual cooperation, rendering it still fuller and broader. On this occasion the talks centred on the further promotion of economic relations, whose development has already achieved such a level as requires a broader platform and long-term planning. As early as in 1951, when the first trade agreement was concluded in Athens, commodity exchange and other forms of economic cooperation gained an increasingly prominent place in mutual relations and extended to many different spheres. The recent talks in Athens, however, have surpassed the previous limits of economic cooperation, thus investing it with a new quality. For the first time the two countries opened discussions on long-term economic cooperation.

The decisions and proposals listed in the joint communiqué, show that large-scale economic cooperation is becoming the practical policy of the two governments and their economic

organizations. The agreement calls for the participation of Yugoslav enterprises in the industrialization of the Greek economy. A group of Greek economic representatives, headed by the minister of industry, is soon due in Yugoslavia for the purpose of gaining closer acquaintance with the possibilities of her industry and market requirements, while a Yugoslav industrial delegation will visit Greece for the same purpose. Such exchanges will be increasingly frequent in the future, as cooperation between economic organizations in the sphere of production assures a sound economic basis and opens broad prospects in this respect.

Trade is planned for a five-year period, the aim being not only to double its present volume, but also to assure a balanced and stable commodity exchange. This means in practice that commodity exchange may reach the value of about 50 million dollars by 1965. Needless to say such a programme requires important changes in the structure of imports and exports. The increase of Greek exports to Yugoslavia is expected to include cotton and cotton products, citrus fruit, leather, some industrial raw materials and semi-finished goods, various minerals, steel products etc., while the increase of Yugoslav deliveries will cover a wide assortment of industrial products, consumer goods, machines and capital equipment.

The purpose and character of the new arrangements reflect the progress made with regard to the coordinated economic efforts of the two countries and the promotion of their general relations. In fact, the course to long-term cooperation is a result of the successful economic development of Greece and Yugoslavia, the growth of their economic potential, and their mutual wish to establish still closer relations.

As an effective practical affirmation of the policy of peaceful and active coexistence between countries with different systems, Greek-Yugoslav cooperation provides a fresh stimulus to favourable tendencies on the broader international plane, thus earning the tribute and respect of all who have the real interests of peace and progress at heart.

N. O.

Normalization of Austro-Yugoslav Relations

— After the Visit of the Austrian Foreign Minister, Dr. Kreisky —

THE RECENT visit of the Austrian Foreign Minister, Dr. Bruno Kreisky to Belgrade, was marked by an improvement in the relations between the two neighbouring countries. We believe that both sides can justly be satisfied with the results of the talks during the visit, for they visibly manifested their agreement to abandon the standstill at which their mutual relations had been during the past few years, and set out along the path of normalization and harmonious development, beneficial to both sides.

According to the Yugoslav view, the difficulties which have piled up in relations between the two countries during the past period, and which led to a complete standstill, adversely affected the actual interests of the two countries and their wider co-operation in international affairs. The situation was all the more unnatural as there were practical opportunities for mutual co-operation, since the two countries, because of their international position and the numerous problems common to their geographic area, as well as because of the supplementary character of their economies, should have enjoyed normal and fruitful goodneighbour relations. From the very outset, Yugoslavia pledged herself to such development, the more so as the major controversial questions in her relations with Austria — the position of the Yugoslav minority in Austria and the problem of mutual financial claims — were regulated in principle by the State Treaty. Apart from their undoubted benefit to both countries, good relations and harmonious co-operation on the banks of the Drava River, in the opinion of Yugoslavia, would be no less a significant, concrete contribution to the normalization and stabilization of general conditions in Europe.

To-day we are happy to declare that progress towards better mutual understanding and gradual normalization of general relations was made during the visit of the distinguished guest from Austria, when a broad and useful exchange of opinions on all questions of bilateral relations and general international situation took place. The jointly-formulated views of the two delegations concerning the basic problems of to-day cannot be considered as anything but an useful contribution to the efforts being made in the world to eliminate tension and bring about lasting peace.

The way in which the bilateral problems were dealt with confirms the belief that the period of standstill in mutual relations has passed and that, as Dr. Kreisky put it, there are now favourable prospects for Yugoslav—Austrian co-operation. We may observe the essential character of these talks in the agreement of the two delegations that both Austria and Yugoslavia have an actual vested interest in, and conditions and reasons for the improvement and promotion of their relations to the point required by the political and economic aspect of their geographical and international position. If progress along this path is continued, we believe that the documents signed during the visit will be the prelude to major and broader agreements in the future, which will provide a firmer and more durable basis for co-operation between the two countries.

The endeavours of both sides to place their economic relations upon more stable foundations are reflected in the agreement on an early opening of talks on a longterm trade

contract. The exchange of goods, which has so far been the basic and almost the only form of economic co-operation, has developed in a generally satisfactory way during the past few years: last year, it reached its post-war peak value of 14 billion dinars. But this onesided exchange of goods would be an underestimation of opportunities which exist for more intensive and varied economic co-operation. This is one of the reasons why the agreement of the two delegations on the necessity to expand economic activity and develop industrial co-operation between the Austrian and Yugoslav enterprises has been received favourably, as the sign of a realistic realization of common interests with good prospects.

It can justly be expected that the results achieved during the visit of Dr. Kreisky will create a more favourable atmosphere for the settlement of outstanding problems. The Yugoslav public considers that the regulation of the position of the Slovene and Croatian minorities in Austria in the spirit of the State Treaty and in accordance with the generally recognized concepts of the right of minorities to preserve their ethnical and national individuality, would be conducive to the development of good relations and mutual trust. Naturally, the regulation of the question of minorities is a matter which comes under the Austrian internal affairs, but past experience shows that the restriction of the rights of the Yugoslav minority has adversely affected bilateral relations between Yugoslavia and Austria and created difficulties in these relations. We are convinced that by a democratic solution of this question, in the spirit of the obligations undertaken by the State Treaty, the Yugoslav minority in Austria would, as Yugoslavia genuinely hopes, become a bridge which connects, not an obstacle which divides, the two neighbouring peoples.

N. Dubravčić

JANATA

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The Return of U Nu

THE INTER-REGNUM period in the political life of the Union of Burma was ended by the formation of the new government of Premier U Nu. Burma, a country which has acquired vast prestige in international relations owing to her consistent policy of active neutrality, is embarking on a new phase of internal consolidation.

The resignation of Premier U Nu was due to profound differences of opinion among the leaders of the ruling Anti-Fascist League. The different conceptions of home policy between U Nu and his followers on the one hand, and U Ba Shwe and the Socialists on the other, were too serious to enable their solution by temporary compromise. If the objective circumstances were such as to render inevitable the disunion of the leaders, who created a common language through the resistance struggle against the Japanese invaders and in the fight for national independence and international recognition of their country, the solution chosen by U Nu was somewhat unusual but undeniably wise: the non-party cabinet of General Ne Vin was entrusted with a mandate to establish law and order in the country and to maintain the continuity of the country's independent policy in international relations during a given period, i. e., until the next parliamentary elections.

Events have shown that fears lest the Government of General Ne Vin should overstep its powers and become an

independent factor in determining the future political development of Burma were exaggerated or malicious.

The division of the Anti-Fascist League into "hard" and "pure" fractions gradually led to the creation of two new political groups, which appeared at parliamentary elections with different political programmes. The convincing victory of U Nu and his followers did not come as a surprise, in view of the personal popularity and prestige of the former premier among the broadest strata of the people.

The constitution of the League of Union, and its decision that U Nu should assume the function of Premier, marks the end of a fairly complicated and fluid phase in the internal development of Burma. The two-thirds majority in the new Parliament will assure a free hand to the government in the implementation of its aims concerning the internal development of the country. As far as foreign policy is concerned, the personality of U Nu, a distinguished protagonist of the policy of non-alignment and active coexistence, gives promise of, a resurgence of the Burmese role in international relations, which will doubtless constitute an important contribution to the further affirmation of the idea of independence and equal rights of peoples, and to the strengthening of international cooperation in the days to come.

The Sharpville Massacre

ALTHOUGH we are living in the second half of the twentieth century, the century of civilisation and human relations among people, nevertheless freedom and slavery, wealth and poverty, justice and crime, solidarity and hate are still encountered together all over the world. In such a world, which is full of the loftiest human aspirations and also the most inhuman cruelties, there occur many tragic events which revolt and shock world public opinion. The Union of South Africa, a member of the Commonwealth and the United Nations, enjoys a deplorable priority in this respect.

As is known, the cruel law of "apartheid" has transformed the Union of South Africa in to the biggest concentration camp of our time. The sustained protests of peoples, organizations and states of all ideologies and political creeds have been joined by the General Assembly of the United Nations itself, which appealed to the government of the Union of South Africa to conform with its obligations as a signatory to the Charter. The infamous protagonists of racial segregation, however, remained deaf: with the persistence of the most callous inquisitors they continued to pursue a policy which aimed at the complete demoralization and subjugation by terror of the native population. People who fought unselfishly to eradicate all manifestations of racialism once and for all, and who proclaimed the equality of all men irrespective of race, sex religion or creed, were obliged to listen to the news of the race crimes committed by the South African leaders.

Their latest decision — that natives, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population, could not move about without special passes — inevitably provoked demonstrations in Sharpville, Lang and other towns and villages. The police and troops, armed with machine guns

and tanks opened fire on the unarmed crowds of Negro men, women and children, whose popular leaders are confined in the jails of the Union. Hundreds of dead and wounded were left lying in the streets and on the roads as a grim testimony to Dr Verwoerd's reign of terror.

When the idea of freedom, self-determination and independence has been fully accepted, not only as a moral precept and political principle, but also as an obligatory legal norm adopted by the international community, when Africa is experiencing its historical renaissance and is becoming a new dynamic and constructive factor in international life, it is high time that further crimes which are dangerous to world peace and bear the imprint of genocide, the gravest crime of all, should be prevented. The solidarity of world public opinion has been fully manifested on this occasion: in the comments of the world press, irrespective of bloc or other barriers; in the resolute action of the British Labour members, the US trade unions, various European political organizations; in the decision of the British Government (which bears a certain responsibility for events in that country as the spiritus rector of the Commonwealth) to hold a debate in the House of Commons on the events in the Union of South Africa; and particularly in the demand of the Afro-Asian countries that the United Nations Security Council be urgently convoked.

At this juncture the world public rightly expects that the Security Council, in view of its wide powers in the sphere of security and world peace, will condemn the actions of Dr. Verwoerd's government, and find a way to assure the vital interests of millions of citizens of the Union of South Africa in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the provisions of the Declaration on Human Rights.

R. K.

Anniversary of Fascist Attack on Yugoslavia

By Franjo TUDJMAN

WHEN on March 27, 1941, the peoples of Yugoslavia, guided by the slogans "Better War than Pact" and "Better Grave than Slave", which were seldom heard in Europe at the time, repudiated the Three—Power Pact linking them with the Axis and thereby prevented Yugoslavia's transformation into a raw-material supply basis for further Fascist invasions — a completely unexpected and new situation arose for Hitlerite Germany and her further war plans. The events of March 27, therefore, were of extreme international significance. They prevented Yugoslavia, with her resources and her territory, from being attached to the Fascist war machine, precisely at the moment when Hitler and Mussolini were exulting at Yugoslavia falling completely into their hands, without bloodshed or loss of time. It was, in fact, Hitler's first significant political defeat at the height of his fame. The international significance of the March revolt lies precisely in the fact that the banner of resistance was raised in a small country of conquered Europe and that faith in Hitler's "omnipotence" and invincibility was thereby shaken. At the same time, the movement of March 27 was the historic turning-point in Yugoslavia's internal political life, since it actually marked the beginning of the Yugoslav national, socialist revolution.

Embittered by this turn of events, Hitler decided to put down Yugoslav resistance by force, by war, or to express it more precisely, by a military expedition, though a war in the Balkans at that time was out of keeping with his plans. Two years before, pending his aggression on Poland, he had tried to provoke war in the Balkans by inciting Mussolini to aggression against Yugoslavia, with the aim of extending the conflagration and dispersing a possible counter-action on the part of the Western powers. Italy evaded this as she was still not prepared for such a move. Later, in 1940 and 1941, the situation was quite different: jealous of Hitler's easy successes in Europe, Mussolini now wanted war in the Balkans, whereas Hitler wanted to have peace there during the preparations first for his invasion of Britain, and, later, for his attack on the Soviet Union.

The Balkans, and particularly Yugoslavia as their key part always had special importance for the two aggressors. This was due to their general geographic position and natural resources, and to their special significance in the political schemes of Hitler and Mussolini. At that time, however, it was of decisive importance for Germany to avoid any engagement of her forces in the Balkans. Only this can explain why the Germans, when they themselves had to pull the wheel of the Axis out of the mud in the Balkans owing to the Italian failures in Greece, did all they could by peaceful means to induce Yugoslavia to come to their side. It was clear that the operations against Greece from the north could not be undertaken if Yugoslavia was unfriendly, but an extension of the conflict was not in keeping with Hitler's plans for two reasons: firstly, because it would detract from the current preparations for attack on the Soviet Union, which was due early in May; and secondly, Britain would be in a position to set up air bases on the Balkan front against oil fields in Rumania and other installations important to the Fascist powers. (This at the same time explains the concession made to Prince Paul by Germany and Italy when they promised to give Salonika to Yugoslavia as a reward for her accession to the Three—Power Pact and under the pretext of the necessity of a Yugoslav outlet on the Aegean Sea).

Having ensured the co-operation of the Hungarian and Bulgarian forces, Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy launched their aggression on April 6, by a sudden attack and without previous declaration of war, by bombing Belgrade and invading Yugoslavia from all sides.

As a result of the weakness of the anti-popular regime, its disintegration and the open treason of its ruling political and military circles, Monarcho-Fascist Yugoslavia suffered a complete defeat in the April War despite the fact that the people were ready and determined to resist the Fascist aggression, as was clearly manifested in the nation-wide resistance during the great Liberation War of Yugoslavia.

The results of the German—Fascist aggression against Yugoslavia were grave: the country was dismembered, divided and occupied by the Fascist German, Italian, Hungarian and Bulgarian armies, while about 340,000 Yugoslav citizens were taken to p. o. w. camps.

Quite apart from the outcome, however, the March resistance and the April War in Yugoslavia were of great importance in 1941, for they caused Hitler to lose those priceless five weeks necessary for the grouping, campaign and re-grouping of his forces, in dealing with the unexpected Yugoslav incident. According to many estimates, this was important to the further course of the war as it meant a delay in the attack on the Soviet Union, which certainly adversely affected the "Blitzkrieg" planned for the end of 1941.

But regardless of the extent to which this affected the course of the war in 1941, it can be said with certainty that the April invasion of Yugoslavia, the occupation of the country, and still more the National—Liberation War itself, forced Hitler and his Fascist allies to set aside substantial forces for the Yugoslav front, numbering from 35 to 60 divisions during the 1941-45 war, which were badly needed on other fronts and which would, undoubtedly have played an important part elsewhere.

During the April War, and indeed during the entire Liberation War from 1941 to 1945, which had been provoked by the German—Fascist aggression and occupation, the people of Yugoslavia experienced grave sufferings and made enormous sacrifices as their contribution to the victory of the Allied nations over the Fascist aggressors. That is why, in recalling the anniversary of the Nazi—Fascist aggression against their country, they cannot but view with concern not only the recurrence of Nazi ideas, but also the various manifestations of the revival of revanche and militarism in Germany, whose boundaries seem to her too narrow, leading her to seek bases outside them, and to oppose the relaxation in the international situation and the policy of peaceful coexistence. But the memories of and the wounds inflicted on the world by the recent aggression of Hitlerite Germany and her Fascist allies are still too fresh for a revival of the aggressive forces to be possible. In the name of human reason and progress, and to-day also of the survival of our civilization, one should believe this — in spite of all. And naturally, ways should be sought for preventing the development of such tendencies to aggression.

ON THE EVE OF THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

By Radovan PAPIĆ

THE FIFTH CONGRESS of the Socialist Alliance of the working People of Yugoslavia, which is to open on April 18 this year in Belgrade, unquestionably constitutes the biggest political event in the country over the last two years. The Congress will emphasize the essential activities of the Socialist Alliance during the past period of its development and their results, and indicate its further role in the system of direct socialist democracy.

The Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia developed from the People's Front; it carries on the militant revolutionary activity of the latter in conditions which require of such a political mass organization not only new forms of work and political action by the most conscious socialist forces, but the adoption of socialist ideas by the widest masses.

The People's Front of Yugoslavia originated under the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, while the working-class and all the progressive forces were struggling against the reactionary bourgeois regimes and their policy of unscrupulous class exploitation and national oppression in prewar Yugoslavia. (This was a struggle against bringing the whole country under fascism, against social and national oppression, for democratic freedoms and the rights of the citizens, for the independence of the country.)

During the Liberation War and the People's Revolution, the People's Front of Yugoslavia orientated itself towards the new, immediate tasks: the struggle against the invaders and the home traitors, the establishment of brotherhood and unity of our peoples, the liberation of the country, the setting up of the new State authority of the people, etc.

In the course of the People's Liberation War, the People's Front of Yugoslavia assumed a fresh character and developed into a Unified People's Liberation Front — a firm and mighty political organization rallying all the patriotic and freedom-loving forces of the country in the struggle against the foreign invaders and native traitors.

It was able successfully to carry out the tasks confronting it during the war, thanks to the fact that it was headed by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which alone was prepared, as well as capable and willing, to lead the peoples of Yugoslavia into armed combat, it was not afraid of the people being armed because it had no aims that did not reflect their true and deep interests.

During the war the authorities of the old regime placed themselves at the disposal of the invaders. Panic-stricken by the people's uprising, the representatives of the bourgeoisie associated with the invaders at the beginning of the war or during its course, in order to preserve their class positions. They made common cause with the enemy to put an end, with his assistance, to the People's Liberation War, which was assuming ever-wider proportions. Thus all the bourgeois parties sank into the quagmire of national betrayal. Among their supporters stratification was evident: there were some in favour of the People's Liberation War, and others against it who wanted collaboration with the occupation authorities.

The People's Front emerged from the war as a mass unified political organization, steeled in the struggle against the invaders and their helpers. Rallied around it, and around its core, the Communist Party, the Yugoslav peoples were able to undertake promptly the rehabilitation and economic building up of the war-devastated country, to consolidate the achievements of the Revolution (the State authority of the people, the brotherhood, unity and equality of the peoples, and so on) and to further its accomplishments.

The period of effort for the fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan for the country's economic development was a period of additional strengthening of the People's Front and of creating the material prerequisites for quickend socialist development, but it was also a period of struggle against foreign influence and attacks on the independence and unity of the country.

An important milestone in the post-war development of Yugoslavia was the introduction of workers' self-government in 1950, and another was the extension of the self-government of the working people to other domains of social life. The communal system further developed the organs of self-government and encouraged all citizens to take part in the social and political life of the country.

Thus the People's Front grew into the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia. At the Fourth Congress, in 1953, it was renamed the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia.

The further building of socialism, the strengthening and promotion of socialist social relations, the expansion and development of the system of self-government; efforts to develop the productive forces of society and fortify the material basis of self-government

on the strength of social ownership of the means of production; the fostering of direct socialist democracy, the raising of the ideological and political consciousness of the citizens, the development of free individuals and human relations between people, the struggle against reactionary, bureaucratic and other pernicious influences and phenomena; the consolidation and further strengthening of the country as a free socialist community of peoples who are striving for its independence and its free development, as well as for peace and active co-existence between states and nations in the world; assistance and support to underdeveloped countries in their struggle to free themselves from colonialism and lift themselves from economic backwardness — these are some of the aims and tasks the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia is striving to achieve, while ensuring the participation of the largest number of citizens in their realization, and their mass support to the State and political leadership so that they may carry out the tasks, set them as successfully as possible on the international level.

The Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia has rallied the working people of our country on a broad political platform, regardless of the differences that may exist among them in ideological conceptions, so that it has become a mass organization of the builders of socialism, now numbering 6.5 million organized members. Its strength and political influence is far greater and more extensive than might be concluded from the size of its membership. This has been corroborated by all the major political manifestations organized by the Socialist Alliance.

The Socialist Alliance has become an important tribune in the system of self-governing bodies and direct socialist democracy. It rallies and unites all social forces and millions of citizens for the solving of the problems of the construction of socialism, making possible broad and free discussion on all issues of social development, which is indispensable for realization of the democratic rights of the citizens and their direct participation in government. The Socialist Alliance has become an essential part of the system of social self-government and its massive political foundation. In co-operating with the authorities and the organs of social self-government, the Socialist Alliance not only influences the decisions of these bodies by including large numbers of its members and other citizens in their work, but also subjects them to social control by encouraging their initiative. Striving for the promotion of direct socialist democracy, for human rights and dignity, for freedom of thought and conscience, the Alliance is instrumental in transferring more and more social and political responsibility to the widest sections of the citizens, making further development dependent not only on the most conscious socialist forces, but on each individual, each member of the social community.

The period between the Fourth and Fifth Congress has indubitably been of great importance in the life of Yugoslavia and her people. It has been a period of huge efforts to overcome serious difficulties and solve complicated problems in her development, yet

it has also witnessed the greatest economic and social advance and success of Yugoslavia on the international scene.

The most significant feature of Yugoslav development during this period is the success attained in promoting and furthering socialist democracy in all domains and in strengthening the productive forces, which are the material basis of our society. It has been a period of the complete affirmation of our social-political system, and particularly of the Socialist Alliance as a political organization. This will undoubtedly be confirmed by the Fifth Congress.

The Congress will assign fresh tasks and trace the lines of future development on the basis of the new and even wider experiences of recent years. While some of the tasks were, until recently, only discernible as a vision of the distant future, today, as comrade Kardelj pointed out at the Tenth Plenum of the Alliance's Federal Committee, they stand before us as the actual, indispensable and concrete tasks of tomorrow, and they indicate a stride forward which we definitely have to make, and one which we unquestionably shall make.

Documents

JOINT ANNOUNCEMENT ON GREEK - YUGOSLAV CONVERSATION

A JOINT COMMUNIQUE was issued in Athens on March 22 relating to the Greek-Yugoslav conversations. It was announced that, in response to an invitation from Panayotis Kanelopoulos, Greek Vice-Premier, Mijalko Todorović, the Vice-President of the Yugoslav Federal Executive Council, paid an official visit to Greece from March 17 to 23 this year.

Mr Todorović was accompanied by Sergej Krajger, a member of the Federal Executive Council and Chairman of the Foreign Trade Committee, and Bogdan Crnobrnja, Assistant State Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

During his visit Mr Todorović was received by King Paul of Greece and Mr Constantine Karamanlis, the Greek Prime Minister.

The following represented Greece in the conversations which were conducted during the visit: Mr Kanelopoulos, Vice-Premier, Mr E. Averoff, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr L. Dertilis, Minister of Commerce, Mr N. Martis, Minister of Industry and their associates.

Those who represented Yugoslavia in the conversations included Mr Mijalko Todorović, the Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council, Mr Sergej Krajger, member of the Federal Executive Council and Chairman of the Foreign Trade Committee, Mr Bogdan Crnobrnja, Assistant State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and their associates.

Mr Demetre Nikolareisis, Greek Ambassador to Yugoslavia, and Mr Mita Miljković, Yugoslav Ambassador to Greece, also took part in the conversations.

During the conversations, which were conducted in the spirit of that sincere friendship which characterizes the relations between the two countries, various questions of mutual interest were examined, primarily those concerning Greek-Yugoslav economic relations and their further development. Both delegations noted with satisfaction that the mixed commissions for which provision had been made by the agreements signed in June, 1959 have met, and that their missions have been very fruitful. Both delegations also welcomed the fact that their

exchange of goods was making auspicious progress, and tending to become more balanced.

The two delegations decided to continue their co-operation in the domain of tourism, which is being further encouraged by the comprehensive road building now under way on both sides.

During the visit there was a very useful exchange of opinions on international problems between Mr Mijalko Todorović, on the one hand, and Mr Constantine Karamanlis and other members of the Greek Government, on the other.

Mr Karamanlis accepted Mr Todorović's invitation to pay a visit to Yugoslavia, the date of which will be decided later.

During the conversations, the joint communiqué went on, practical opportunities for the expansion of economic co-operation were noted and, accordingly, it was agreed to increase the volume and stability of the goods exchange. With this object, it was decided to request the mixed commission provided for by the agreement on economic co-operation and technical assistance to make a study of practical measures and to submit to the two Governments, a commodity exchange plan covering the next five years, whose ultimate aim would be to double the volume of the present exchange. Besides this, the same commission will be asked to suggest to the two Governments ways and means for the successful fulfilment of this plan.

It is understandable that the economic development plans of both countries have to be taken into consideration for this purpose. In this context, both sides have reaffirmed their interest in the participation of Yugoslav economic organizations, on terms satisfactory to both countries, in the realization of the Greek Five-Year Plan, by constructing one or more basic projects.

JOINT YUGOSLAV - AUSTRIAN ANNOUNCEMENT

AT THE INVITATION of the Yugoslav Government, Dr. Bruno Kreisky, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Austria, and Dr. Franz Gschnizer, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, paid an official visit to Yugoslavia from March 16 to 19, 1960.

On conclusion of the conversations in Belgrade, the members of the Austrian delegation were received at Brioni by President Tito on March 19, 1960.

During their visit Dr. Kreisky and Dr. Gschnizer had extensive conversations with Mr Koča Popović, Yugoslav State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Mr Srdja Prica, State Undersecretary, on questions of international policy and of relations between the two countries.

Mr Jože Zemljak, Yugoslav Ambassador to Austria, Mr Wilhelm Goerz, Ambassador to Yugoslavia and ranking officials of both countries attended the conversations.

The conversations, conducted in a spirit of mutual understanding and in a friendly atmosphere, were marked by a broad and open exchange of opinions on the most important problems arising from the present international situation.

It was agreed that the problem of general and controlled disarmament constitutes today one of the most important issues of international policy, and one whose solution should be approached as soon as possible. In this context, both sides attach special importance to the question of the prohibition of atomic-weapons tests.

Both sides expressed the conviction that it is the task of all states to make every effort towards the further easing of international tension, and expressed the hope that the forthcoming summit conference will represent an important contribution in that direction, that it will lead to a strengthening of international co-operation and to the consolidation of peace.

Special emphasis was laid on the importance of the United Nations as a universal forum for the handling and settlement of international problems.

During the conversations it was also agreed that the promotion of all measures contributing to the economic development of undeveloped countries makes an efficacious contribution to the progress of mankind and the safeguarding of peace.

Both sides consider that the differences existing in the social and political organization of the two countries, as well as the differences in the appraisal of certain international problems, constitute no obstacle to the promotion of co-operation and neighbourly relations.

Both sides note that it is in the interest of the two countries to promote their mutual economic relations still further. At a very early date negotiations will be opened for the conclusion of a long-term trade agreement. During these talks all the possibilities for facilitating and improving the exchange of goods will be examined in a comprehensive way. It was also considered that industrial co-operation between Austrian and Yugoslav enterprises should be cultivated.

There was comprehensive exchange of views concerning a number of open questions of a financial nature. Both Foreign Ministers will inform their Governments of the results of these discussions.

Both Governments have decided to intensify their mutual cultural co-operation, and practical measures for this will be taken through diplomatic channels.

During the conversations the Yugoslav representatives emphasized the special importance they attached to a just settlement of the problems relating to the position of the Slovenian and Croatian minorities in Austria, with a view to preserving their ethnic character and enabling their unhampered national development, in accordance with the obligations laid down by State Treaty and with international standards.

In this context, it was stated from by the Austrian representatives that their Government is seeking to consolidate the position of the mentioned minorities in Austria in the spirit of the principles of the Austrian Constitution, and according to Article 7 of the State Treaty.

During the course of the visit the Ministers signed a Consular Convention, an Agreement on Recognition and Enforcement of the Decisions of Courts of Arbitration Involving Commercial Disputes, a Supplementary Agreement to the Agreement on Regulation of Border Traffic of March 19, 1953, as well as an Agreement on Plant Protection.

Dr. Kreisky conveyed to Mr Koča Popović an invitation from the Austrian Government that he should pay an official visit to Austria. Mr Popović accepted the invitation with pleasure. The date of the visit will be arranged through diplomatic channels.

Ivan Karaivanov

The Central Committee of the Yugoslav League of Communists and the Federal Committee of the Socialist Alliance of Working People issued the following communique in connection with the death of the distinguished revolutionary, Ivan Karaivanov:

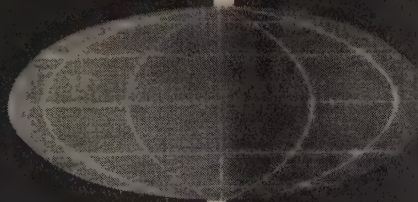
"Ivan Karaivanov, member of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav League of Communists, member of the Federal Committee of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia and deputy to the Federal People's Assembly, died in Belgrade on March 27.

Ivan Karaivanov, who was born and brought up within the Bulgarian labour movement, dedicated the greatest part of his revolutionary activity to the international labour movement and, after World War II, to the labour movement of Yugoslavia and the development of socialism in this country.

The revolutionary Ivan Karaivanov made an immense contribution to the historical struggle for the strengthening of the international labour movement and the victory of socialism.

The Yugoslav League of Communists and the Socialist Alliance of Working People have lost a man who fought tirelessly and steadfastly for the lofty ideas of socialism, freedom and humanism for over four decades.

The life and work of the tested revolutionary and brave fighter, Ivan Karaivanov, will remain as a magnificent example in the struggle for socialism. Long live the memory of Comrade Ivan Karaivanov."



EIGHT REGULAR SERVICES:

NORTH EUROPE (Weekly):

From Rijeka and Adriatic ports to London and North Europe.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (Every ten days):

From Rijeka to New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore.

SOUTH AMERICA (Monthly):

From Rijeka and Adriatic ports to Buenos Aires.

LEVANT (Weekly):

From Rijeka and Adriatic ports to Latakia, Beirut and Alexandria.

IRAN, IRAQ (Every six weeks):

From Rijeka and Adriatic port to Khorramshahr.

INDIA, PAKISTAN, BURMA (Monthly):

From Rijeka and Adriatic ports Japanese ports.

FAR EAST (EXPRESS monthly service):

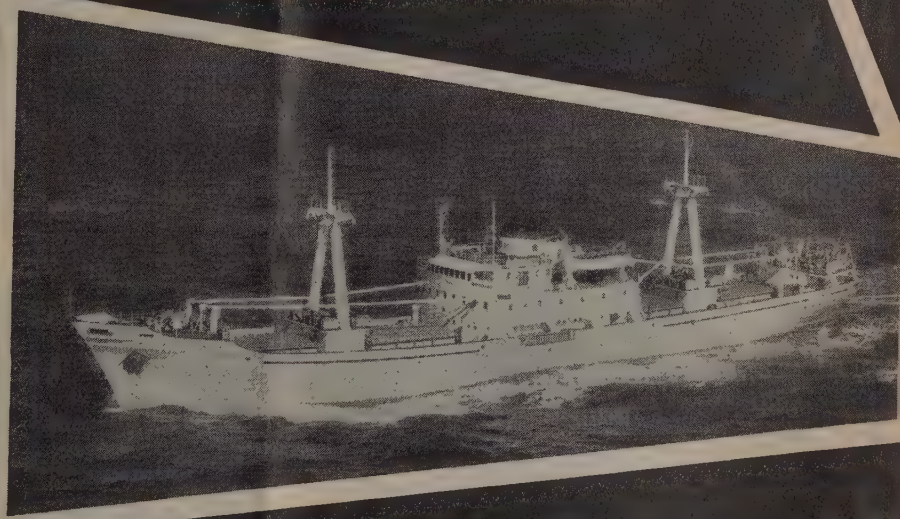
From Rijeka and Adriatic ports to Japanese ports.

FAR EAST (FAST bimonthly):

From Rijeka and Adriatic ports to China and Japan

These services are maintained by 35 fast, modern ships totalling over 230.000 tons carrying capacity and having refrigerators, tanks for vegetable oils, and accommodation for 470 passengers,

**IMPORTERS AND EXPORTERS! USE
»JUGOLINIJA« TO CARRY YOUR CARGO!**



JUGOLINIJA

RIJEKA JUGOSLAVIJA



• 14 OKTOBAR •

KRUŠEVAC — YUGOSLAVIA

FARMING, BUILDING AND MINING MACHINE FACTORY AND METAL CONSTRUCTION WORKS

AFTER introducing the building of excavators, the next step made by the "14 OKTOBAR", factory in accordance with the basic needs of the country, was the inclusion of crawler tractors in the production program. The important place taken by agricultural development and the mechanization of farming demanded new methods in cultivating the soil,

and wheeled tractors did not meet the new demand. Therefore "14 OKTOBAR" centred its attention on a crawler tractor of 50/60 HP, specially intended for agricultural work.

The crawler tractors are built under licence of Messrs. VENDER (now Allis-Chalmers Italiana, Italy). The first difficulties, inevitable in the mastering of a completely new and complex machine built to high standards of precision, have now been long overcome, and production is well in hand. Taking account of the trend on the Yugoslav market and domestic needs, two models are built: the already mentioned 50/60 HP Model TG-50 crawler tractor, intended principally for agricultural, for heavy ploughing and similar works; and the 100 HP model, used not only in farming for the heaviest work, but also a very useful machine in mines, in construction



One of the Shops in the "14 Oktobar" Works



A Tractor Assembly Shop in "14 Oktobar"

and everywhere where the moving of earth is the first and foremost task on the building site, whether bulldozing or working with a scraper, root-rake, etc.

The 50/60 HP model, called TG-50, is a universal machine, built to work all the year round under all-weather conditions. With its 8 forward and 2 reverse speeds, ranging from 2.1 to 13.7 k.p.h. in forward and 2.8 to 3.6 in reverse, the tractor is capable of working under all conditions and on all sorts of tasks, not only in agriculture, but on many lighter construction jobs too. At small extra cost the tractor may be equipped with a differential, permitting the transformation of the crawler tractor into a wheeled machine, with all the characteristics of the standard wheeled tractor. This job can be easily performed by two mechanics, with simple tools, within the short time of 4 hours.

The crawler tractors built by "14 OKTOBAR" are intended to work, not only with agricultural implements, but with all normal attachments, such as bulldozer, angledozer, stone-rake, root-rake, crane, etc. With the appropriate equipment, the crawler tractors represent the basic equipment needed in all heavy-duty work in mining, road building, building-site preparation, etc., and with a scraper of 8—10 cbm. the machine TG-90 of 100 HP is the required equipment for short hauls of big masses of earth.

The biggest model, the TG-160, equipped with a 195 HP Diesel engine, is not yet on the list of machines completely built by the "14 OKTOBAR" factory, the number of these machines required at present by the Yugoslav economy not yet being sufficient to justify all the investments necessary for the building of such a big machine. However, in cooperation with Messrs. Vender, quite a number of these machines have already been delivered, working under the most exacting conditions to the greatest satisfaction of their owners.

One of the first machines to be built by "14 OKTOBAR" was the MV-12 motor road-roller of 12—14 tons, with a 38 HP Diesel engine. The first model has been further developed and brought up-to-date, featuring now hydraulic steering, full oil bath gear box with precision cut and heat treated gears, anti-friction bearings, big diameter rolls for smooth and high quality rolling, and a large overlap of the rear and front rolls for good rolling results.

The smaller model, MV-6T, an improved version of the first MV-6 model, has a 25 HP Diesel engine, 4 forward speeds, lestable rolls increasing thus the overall weight from 6 to 8 tons.

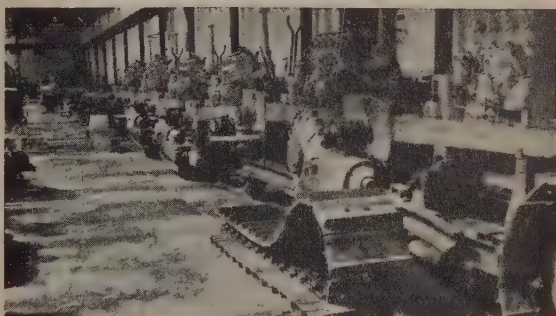
A sturdy construction, low operating costs, simple design and dependability under all operating conditions, have won for these machines the highest praise from all operators.



One of the Gd—50 Tractor Series at the "14 Oktobar" Works



A View of the caterpillar Tractor Assembly Shop



A View of the Tractor—Part Machining Shop



A Gd—50 Tractor in Operation with an 3—Furrow Plough



Torpedo

MOTOR FACTORY—RIJEKA

THE TORPEDO Motor Factory, Rijeka, with a tradition and experience of well over 100 years, is known the world over as a manufacturer of medium-speed Diesel engines, its manufacturing program ranging from 3 HP to 300 HP engines.

The first engine built in this Factory, the "ARAN" 7—11 HP Diesel engine, is a four-stroke, single-cylinder, horizontal, economical and versatile engine, which met with an excellent reception for its manifold uses, not only on the domestic market, but also abroad, and is working to the complete satisfaction of customers in Egypt, Burma, India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Greece, Turkey, Thailand, Tunisia, Poland and many other countries of Europe and South America.

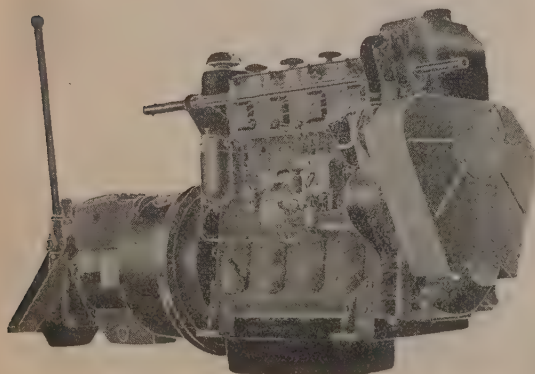
The intention of the Factory is to build a complete range or family of engines up to 300 HP. The Factory's designers and Dr. HANS LIST, of Graz (Austria), Designer for ANSTALT FUER VERBRENNUNGSMOTOREN, have collaborated in the present design of the TORPEDO-500 engine family, representing a complete range of 4-stroke, vertical compression ignition engines. Engines of 2, 3 and 4 cylinders, for universal application as stationary, industrial, marine and auxiliary ship motors, are now in serial production. The main characteristics of these engines are:

2— cylinder engine	1000—1600 r. p. m.	20—30 HP
3— cylinder engine	1000—1600 r. p. m.	30—45 HP
4— cylinder engine	1000—1600 r. p. m.	40—60 HP

The next step in the development of this family of motors is the building of a V-6 engine of 80—120 HP, to be completed in the course of this year, while that of a V-12 engine developing 300 HP is already well advanced. The speed of the V-6 engine will be from 1000—2000 r. p. m., and it is intended for all occasions on which such engines are used.

The TORPEDO—500 series engines have also met with an excellent reception on the market, their principal features being careful design, excellent workmanship, suitability for heavy-duty work at low cost and easy operation and maintenance. Among those who have used these engines for many years are customers from various countries of Europe, from all the countries of the Near, Middle and Far East, and from Africa and South America.

One of the most prominent customers of TORPEDO Diesel engines is the well-known Excavator Factory, "ING. F. FIORENTINI and C." of Rome (Italy). This Factory has found means of close collaboration with the TORPEDO Factory, owing to the fact that — it is very well placed on the Yugoslav market, where it works in close cooperation with the "14 OKTOBAR" Factory, Kruševac, where universal excavators are built under the FIORENTINI licence. It should be pointed out that the "14 OKTOBAR" Factory is one of the most important customers for the TORPEDO—500 Series engines for excavators, tractors, etc. The remarkable success already achieved in the sale of TORPEDO—500 Series engines to the FIORENTINI Factory led to considerable demand on the Italian market for these engines. Therefore the TORPEDO Factory is making preparations to open an agency in Italy, in order to take care of the engines sold there and to offer customers all service facilities, spare parts, complete engines and every other assistance.



Diesel Engine »Torpedo«

OFFICIAL STATEMENTS

Yugoslav Attitude on..

Visit of Mijalko Todorović to Greece. — "The visit of Mr Mijalko Todorović, Vice President of the Federal Executive Council, to Greece is an expression of the mutual wish to broaden relations between the two countries, especially in the economic sphere. We are convinced that this visit will mark a further step in the promotion of friendly cooperation between Yugoslavia and Greece."

Participation in Summit Conference. — "The Yugoslav government has already stated why it considers it both necessary and desirable to increase the number of participants in the summit conference. Other countries, especially the uncommitted ones, are naturally interested in general world issues, and it is therefore necessary irrespective of their size, that they take a direct part in one way or another, in the deliberation of crucial international issues". Asked whether the Yugoslav Government intended to send an observer to the summit conference, the official spokesman replied: "For the time being I am not in a position to predict the measures which the Yugoslav Government may take in this respect."

The Ten Member Conference. — "The opening of concrete talks on the disarmament problem after the 1957 stalemate should be considered as an important and propitious step. Disarmament is a crucial international issue and it is therefore necessary to approach its solution as soon as possible. We hope that the present international atmosphere will offer a fresh opportunity for a constructive approach to this problem, and Yugoslavia will therefore follow the activities of those now conferring in Geneva with keen interest."

Observer's Status in the Council for Mutual Economic Aid. — "Inspired by the wish to promote and foster economic relations with all countries, the Yugoslav government endeavoured to obtain the status of observer in the Council for Mutual Economic Aid. In view of the fact that the countries of Eastern Europe account for approximately 25 to 30 percent of the total Yugoslav trade, and that four of the eight members of this organization are Yugoslavia's neighbours, we consider that Yugoslav participation in the work of this organisation would have been both normal and useful. The Yugoslav government again applied for observer status in the East European Economic Organization in December 1959, and received a negative answer without explanations."

Algeria. — "As shown by recent developments, "pacification" by means of continuing the war will only create fresh complications, victims and suffering. The fulfilment of the mutually adopted principle of self-determination in a manner which will assure the free and unhampered expression of the will of the Algerian people is the only way left."

Premier Yugov's Proposal. — Asked to comment on the proposal of Mr Anton Yugov, the Bulgarian Prime Minister, to hold a meeting of foreign ministers of the Balkan countries as a preliminary step to a conference of the prime ministers of these countries, the official spokesman stated: "In accordance with her well-known principles Yugoslavia endorses every constructive proposal which might in practice contribute to the creation of deeper trust and afford real possibilities for broader cooperation among the Balkan countries. We consider that an unflagging and consistent effort to regulate bilateral relations is the surest way to reach regional and other broader forms of cooperation."

Policy of the Albanian Government. — "In a speech delivered on March 9, Enver Hodja, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers' Party, stated that there was full agreement between Albania, the Soviet Union and all the other people's democracies "on all political, ideological and economic questions regarding the imperialist warmongers, present-day revisionists, and particularly regarding the Yugoslav revisionists." A few days ago Yugoslavia was denounced by Manus Muftiu, a member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers' Party, by Vita Kapo, first Deputy Premier, by the secretary of the Albanian Womens Federation and by several other Albanian leaders. Similar

attacks were published by the press. These outbursts provide yet another proof that the policy of the Albanian government is contrary to the general interests of peace and is directly undermining efforts towards the improvement of relations between the Balkan countries. It is interesting, in view of the present situation, which is marked by the ever stronger affirmation of active coexistence, that Enver Hodja should seek such a platform for the unity of the socialist camp. Moreover Hodja stated explicitly that his interpretation of the policy of the socialist camp was the only authentic one. Asked whether he considered that the policy of the Albanian government was actually undermining the proposals made by Premier Yugov of Bulgaria, the official spokesman stated: "We think this is really so."

(Extracts from the news conference held by the official spokesman of the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs on March 18).

Meetings and Talks

ON THE GOVERNMENTAL LEVELS

Bruno Kreiski in Yugoslavia. — Dr. Bruno Kreiski, Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Dr Franz Gschnitzer, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, arrived on an official visit to Yugoslavia from March 16 to 19, 1960. After holding talks with the Yugoslav government delegation, headed by Koča Popović Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the distinguished Austrian guests were received by President Tito.

Mijalko Todorović Visits Greece. — Mijalko Todorović, Vice President of the Federal Executive Council, paid an official visit to Greece from March 17 to 23, 1960 as guest of the Mr Panayotis Canelopoulos, Greek Vice—Premier. He was accompanied by Sergije Kraiger, member of the Federal Executive Council and President of the Foreign Trade Committee, and Bogdan Crnobrnja Assistant Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Mr Todorovic was received by King Paul of Greece and the Premier, Mr Constantine Karamanlis. The members of the Yugoslav delegation conferred with the Greek representatives on various problems and aspects of Greek—Yugoslav economic relations and their further development.

Session of FAO Subcommission. — The fourth regular session of the Sub—Commission for Agricultural Service, Professional Training in Agriculture, Domestic Science and Farm Youth was held in Belgrade March 21 to 26. The Sub—Commission is an agency of the U. N. Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO). The session was attended by the representatives of thirteen European countries and several international organizations.

International Conference on Maritime Law. — The Second International Conference on Maritime Law was opened in Genova on March 17. The agenda of the conference includes the determination of the broader zone of territorial waters as well as the so-called "supplementary zones" with exclusive fishing rights for the country in question. The Yugoslav delegation to this conference was headed by Dr Milan Bartoš, Ambassador in the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

Dr. Velebit Visits Norway. — Dr Vladimir Velebit, Deputy President of the Foreign Trade Committee, visited Oslo from March 19 to 25, where he attended the opening of the Yugoslav agricultural show. Dr Velebit had talks with Norwegian official and economic representatives on the further promotion of economic cooperation between the two countries.

Parliamentary Delegation Visits Japan. — A Yugoslav parliamentary delegation headed by Dr Mladen Iveković, President of the Federal Council of the Federal People's Assembly, left for Japan and Cambodia on March 29. The delegation will spend ten days in Japan, thus returning the visit of a Japanese parliamentary delegation to Yugoslavia last summer. Subsequently the delegation will pay a five-day visit to the Parliament of Cambodia.

Visit of Moroccan Government Delegation. — A delegation of the Moroccan Government arrived on a ten-day visit to Yugoslavia on March 25, at the invitation of the Yugoslav government. The delegation consists of Hasan Zemuri, Secretary of State for the Interior and two other government functionaries.

TRADE UNIONS

Austrian Trade Union Representatives Visit Yugoslavia. — A study group of the Austrian Trade Unions, headed by Secretary Franz Zenghofer, visited Yugoslavia from March 14 to 21. The delegation called at various trade union institutions and organizations in Belgrade, Subotica, Tuzla and Zagreb and became acquainted with the activities of the workers universities, culture clubs, educational centers in enterprises, technical schools and other institutions. The delegation was also received by Svetozar Vukmanović, President of the Central Trade Union Council.

Yugoslav Trade Union Delegation in Italy. — A delegation of Yugoslav farm, food and tobacco industry workers attended the Congress of Italian farm workers in Bari from March 21 to 24. After the Congress the Yugoslav trade union members will spend about ten days in Italy and visit several farm organizations.

Yugoslav Trade Union Delegation in Rumania. — A delegation of the Yugoslav Central Trade Unions Council, headed by Mika Špiljak, Vice-President of the Central Council, left on March 27 for Bucharest on a visit to the Central Trade Unions Council of Rumania. The two delegations will hold talks on a series of topical problems pertaining to the activities of the two organizations.

THE PEOPLES YOUTH

Tunisian Students. — A delegation of the General Tunisian Student Union arrived on March 25 on a fortnight's visit to Yugoslavia, at the invitation of the Yugoslav Student Union. The Tunisian students will visit Belgrade, Novi Sad, Zagreb and Ljubljana, and hold talks on further cooperation with the Yugoslav Student Union.

Warsaw Congress. — Dušan Mitević, member of the presidency of the Yugoslav Students' Union, left for Warsaw on March 25, where he will represent the Yugoslav Students' Union at the Fourth Congress of Polish students. Mitević will sign document which will define more precisely student cooperation between the two countries.

OTHER CONTACTS

Cultural Delegation Visits India. — A Yugoslav cultural delegation headed by Dr Miloš Žanko, member of the Executive Council of Croatia, left for India on March 15. The delegation will discuss the implementation of the recently signed agreement on educational, scientific and cultural cooperation.

Dr Jovan Djorđević Returns from the USA. — Dr Jovan Djorđević, Chairman of the Legal Council of the Federal Executive Council, has returned to Yugoslavia after a four-month visit to the USA. At the invitation of the Harvard and California universities Dr Djorđević delivered 43 lectures on the social, political and juridical system in Yugoslavia.

Visit of Tunisian Farmers Delegation. — A group of young Tunisian farm experts arrived in Yugoslavia on March 29. The Tunisian guests will spend a fortnight in Yugoslavia and become acquainted with various problems pertaining to the modernization of agriculture and cooperative organization.

Negotiations and Agreements

ECONOMIC

Yugoslav — Chinese Trade Protocol. — The trade talks between Yugoslavia and China were ended in Belgrade on March 25 by the signing of a Trade Protocol for 1960. The new trade protocol calls for about 3.4 million dollars worth of trade both ways, or approximately the same as last year.

Agreement With Austria. — Several instruments between Yugoslavia and Austria were signed in the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs on March 18. These were an agreement on cooperation in the sphere of plant protection, a consular agreement, a supplementary agreement to the one on small border traffic of March 19, 1953 and an agreement on the mutual recognition and execution of decisions of the courts of arbitration in case of disputes arising over business contracts. The agreements were signed by Koča Popović, Yugoslav Foreign Secretary and Dr Bruno Kreisky, Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Airways Agreement Signed. — The representatives of the Yugoslav civil aviation enterprise and the business association of the Austrian travel agencies signed an agreement on March 25 in Vienna on the establishment of an airline service between Vienna and Tivat during this year's tourist season.

Economic Cooperation with Cambodia. — A Yugoslav trade delegation which held talks with the official representatives of Cambodia concluded an agreement on the expansion of trade and economic cooperation, on March 20.

Association for Economic Cooperation with Italy. — The Yugoslav members of the Mixed Yugoslav-Italian Society, "SACET", signed an agreement in Belgrade on March 24 providing for the establishment of a business association for economic and technical cooperation with Italy.

Delivery of Factory Plant to Indonesia. — The Yugoslav foreign trade enterprise, "Invest-Import", of Belgrade, signed an agreement on the sale of a tanning factory to Indonesia by the middle of March. The delivery of the complete plant for this factory will be financed from a ten-million dollar credit Yugoslavia opened for Indonesia last September.

SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION

Petroleum Exploitation. — Within the framework of the economic cooperation programme between Yugoslavia and the United Arab Republic, an agreement was signed in Cairo on March 21, according to which Yugoslav experts and technicians will perform drilling and other operations relating to the exploitation of the Ras Ghareb oilfield on the Red Sea shore. About thirty Yugoslav experts will take part in this project and provide their own equipment.

Fishing in Turkish Waters. — Two Yugoslav fishing craft sailed from Split on March 19 for Turkish territorial waters, where they will spend a year fishing in the Sea of Marmora, the Black Sea and the Aegean sea in accordance with the recent fishery agreement.

CULTURE

Agreement with Czechoslovakia. — The programme for the implementation of the Agreement on cultural cooperation in 1960 between Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia was signed in Prague on March 14. The programme calls for an exchange of scientific and cultural workers, materials and experiences in the sphere of science education and training, an exchange of musicians and the organization of book shows, as well as cooperation between various Yugoslav and Czechoslovak cultural, publishing and sports institutions.

Cultural Exchanges with Mexico. — An agreement on cultural cooperation between Mexico and Yugoslavia, covering cooperation between the two countries in the field of science, art and culture was signed on March 27. The agreement calls for an exchange of professors, lecturers, writers, students, technicians, as well as of books and publications.

ECONOMY

Increase of Industrial Production. — According to data released by the Federal Statistical Office, industrial production in January and February 1960 was 17 per cent higher than in the corresponding period last year. Thus petroleum production was increased by 19 percent, coal 4 percent, electric power 3 percent, ferrous metallurgy 24 percent, non-metal industry 20 percent, non-ferrous metallurgy 10 percent, timber processing industry 20 percent, consumer goods 35 percent, food industry 32 percent, leather and shoes 25 percent, textiles 12 percent and tobacco 16 percent.

Coal. — The Yugoslav coalmines will yield 22.6 million tons of coal this year, or 1.9 million tons more than in 1959.

Serial Production of Fodder Grinding Machine. — Serial production of a new machine for the grinding of cattle feed, which gave better results during its trial run than the best known Yugoslav and foreign machines of this kind, is to begin soon.

Livestock Farming. — During the past three years the number of cattle in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina has increased from 50,000 to 214,000 head. About 34,000 fat stock, or ten times more than in 1956, were delivered to the market last year. According to the data of the Federal Statistical Office there were about 5.5 million head of cattle at the beginning of the year, over 6 million pigs, about 11.5 million sheep, almost 1.5 million horses and over 30 million poultry.

Metallurgy. — The Yugoslav ferrous metallurgy will yield 14 percent more finished products than last year. Production is estimated to reach about 975 tons of rolled and 80,000 tons of drawn goods.

Cellulose. — The new Yugoslav cellulose factory in Banja Luka, which came into trial operation at the beginning of the year, has reached a daily output of 126 tons. The first deliveries of cellulose have already been shipped to Italy, the United Arab Republic, Poland and some other countries.

Electric Power. — A total 640 million KWH electric power was produced in Yugoslavia this February or 8 percent more than in the corresponding month last year.

Construction of Industrial Projects. — Thirty new power stations and other electrical projects, six big chemical factories, six textile mills, several mines and other industrial projects are scheduled for construction during the next few years in the People's Republic of Macedonia.

TRANSPORT

Highway Construction. — Another 600 kilometers of modern motor roads will be built in Yugoslavia this year, which will bring the total length of modern asphalt and other highways to 6,300 kilometers by the end of 1960.

Motor Vehicles. — The number of motor vehicles in Yugoslavia rose to 136,760, of which 40,000 are passenger cars. By comparison with 1956 the number of commercial and other vehicles was increased by 250 per cent.

Passenger transport. — The Yugoslav railways transported almost 200 million passengers last year, or over 31 million more than in 1956.

EXPORTS-IMPORTS

Exports of Machine Building Industry. — The Yugoslav machine building factories will increase exports by 20 percent as compared with the previous year and have already concluded considerable sales contracts with import firms in the Soviet Union, India, the United Arab Republic, Turkey, Lebanon, Greece and Poland. Exports of these products are estimated to reach about 11 billion dinars, or five billion more than in 1959.

The Electrotechnical Industry. — Exports of the electro-technical industry were valued at 6 billion, 182 million dinars last year. The chief items exported include cables, rotary engines, transformers, electrical household appliances and products of the radio industry.

Foreign Trade. — During January and February this year Yugoslavia exported about 21 billion dinars worth of goods, or 15 percent more than in the same period last year. Meanwhile imports reached the 39.5 billion dinar level, or 11 billion more than in the corresponding period last year.

Chemical Industry. — In the course of 1959 the Yugoslav chemical industry exported about 11 million dollars worth of various goods, thus exceeding the 1958 level by about one million dollars.

CULTURE AND EDUCATION

Publishing Activity. — The Yugoslav publishing enterprises will print 2,217 Yugoslav and 1,370 foreign works in 1960.

Documentary Films. — Twenty two countries showed 148 films at the Sixth West German Documentary Film Festival in Oberhausen. Yugoslav films were awarded two Festival Prizes and an Official Commendation.

MISCELLANEA

Housing Communities. — A total of 441 housing communities have been so far established in Yugoslavia, while committees were set up for the creation of another 249 such communities.

Yugoslav Expedition to Himalayas. — After several months' preparations, the first Yugoslav expedition to the Himalayas left the country for India. The expedition consists of six members and a journalist, who is acting as special correspondent to several Yugoslav papers.

T H E

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Political Diary

March 15 — The Federal Executive Council convened, with Mijalko Todorović in the chair. The Report of the Federal Executive Council for 1959 and the General Economic Report for 1959 were approved. A report on the fundamental problems of scientific research in the sphere of natural science was likewise examined, and the draft law on economic transgressions and penal procedure and some other general problems relative to economic transgressions adopted.

March 17 — The Committee for social control of the Federal People's Assembly convened. The need for the stronger orientation of the Yugoslav pharmaceutical industry to domestic production was stressed.

March 18 — The fourth plenary session of the Central Yugoslav Trade Unions Council was held in Belgrade from March 15 to 18. The session was dedicated to a discussion on the utilization of spare time and the recreational facilities of workers and office employees. The discussion was closed by Svetozar Vukmanović Tempo, President of the Central Trade Union Council.

March 18 — A consultation on housing communities was attended by the presidents of the thirty biggest housing communities, the representatives of ten local committees, the chairmen of the republican secretariats for welfare policy, and representatives of political and social organizations.

March 25 — The Committee for Welfare Policy and Public Health of the Federal People's Assembly convened for the purpose of discussing the parts of the Report concerning the activities of the Federal Executive Council in 1959. While it was noted that the housing reform is being successfully implemented, although the need was stressed to devote greater attention to subscriptions, to tenants rights, and to the investing of the private resources of citizens in housing construction.

March 27 — In connection with the racial repression of the native population in the Union of South Africa, the Yugoslav Central Trade Union Council and the Yugoslav League for Peace sent protest telegrams to the Secretary General of the United Nations Organization, Dag Hammarskjöld.

Diplomatic Diary

March 19 — President Josip Broz—Tito received Ante Rukavina, newly appointed Yugoslav Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Ceylon, and Petar Ivković, newly appointed Yugoslav Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Afghanistan, on the eve of their departure to their new posts.

March 25 — By Decree of President Tito, Dr Darko Černej, Assistant Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was appointed Yugoslav Ambassador to Paris.

Our New Contributor

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